

National Anti-Slavery Standard.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,
AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM.
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York,
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
106 North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.
Letters for publication, or relating in any way to
the editorial conduct of the paper, should be ad-
dressed to the Editor, at the office of the
American Anti-Slavery Society, New York.
Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to
the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed,
"PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD,
NEW YORK."
ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.
The Department we give place to such extracts from
the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best
to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its
champions and apologists.

EMANCIPATION OR DEFEAT.

From The Detroit Free Press, Sept. 2.
There are a class of papers published which have
been constantly striving to educate the public mind
up to that point when it would be believed there was
no alternative but to choose between emancipation or
defeat in the present ultra abolition wing of the
papers belong to the latter alternative. Every paper or
Republican party, and are, therefore, without the
force and effect which they would otherwise have,
but still their constant and ceaseless clamor, without
being rebuked by their own party associates, has
made their influence felt far and near.
It seems to us too clear for argument—it is like
spending time to prove a self-evident proposition—that
any attempt to make this war an issue between
emancipation or defeat in the present ultra abolition
defeat and recognition of the Southern Confederacy,
is but another mode of announcing that we must
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It was this element which gave the extreme bitterness
to the late Presidential contest, and roused up
the passions of men to the point of madness; it was
this element which pointed the finger of hatred to
the South, and held them up as objects of derision to
the world; it was this element which launched at
at Washington, and declared that the South would not
our faces, and raised the standard of rebellion; it was
this element which treated the war, when once com-
menced, with such levity, that the world was deceived
as to its character and its importance; and now it is
this element which stands in the way of the success-
ful and vigorous prosecution of the war. It weakens
us in Maryland; it paralyzes us in Virginia; it gives
strength to our foes in Kentucky and Missouri; and
at Washington it is this element which is now ex-
tracting men for opinions' sake, who would lay
down their lives in a moment to save the country
from the perils which now surround us.
It is this element of abolitionism, which prevents
the sinking of all parties for the time being in one
united effort to save the country. Every Democrat
feels that those who are in favor of forcible aboli-
tion cannot be in favor of the Union, for the two can
not exist under the Constitution. Why is it that the
conservative Republican men who are imbued with
as true love of country as any men who live, who
cannot but abandon this faction, whose whole course
has been one of evil—whose every footstep has been
marked with danger, and is now wet with human
blood? Why not rise above the low level of party,
and stand upon ground where all patriots can stand
who desire the perpetuity of our Constitution, the
maintenance of our government? There is no other
way to save the Union, for the sake of the
Union, but to place the Abolitionists under the same
bond of public opinion that has already condemned
its twin sister, secession. Equally dangerous to the
country, let them be buried together; and then, and
not till then, can we hope for peace. Let those men
in the Cabinet who cling to Abolitionism give place
to men who will think only for the country, and there
is still hope; let the Administration forget the party
and act for all, and then we shall hope for victory
and safety.

FRUITS OF MISREPRESENTATION.

From The New York Observer.
LORD SHAFTESBURY says the English people have
no more sympathy for the North than for the South
in the present struggle, for the North is just as pro-
slavery as the South is.
The London Record, a religious paper, echoes the
same sentiment, and adds:
"The policy which Dr. Cheever advocates were adopted
by the government of America, or by her leading states-
men, England would not have been so much excited,
sympathy which might almost have compelled her govern-
ment to forget the rules of diplomacy, and go beyond
the bounds of non-interference."
The actual reason for the sympathy of England
being extended to the South, or Abolitionism have
filled the English mind with the belief that the North
is quite as much in favor of slavery as the South.
When the English people are told that Dr. Cheever's
church is the only anti-slavery church in New York,
and that it is so near perishing for want of money
that it is to send men and women across the sea to
beg for it, why should they not believe that the North
is pro-slavery? The effect of these misrepresenta-
tions is now felt to our serious injury. And those
men who go abroad to vilify their country are the
men who have cut us off from moral sympathy, if not
from material aid, in the hour of our necessity. True
to their mission, they continue to work mischief, and
unless God interposes for our help, they will yet be
our ruin.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE
FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

From The Leavenworth (Kansas) Times.
Some time since, Marshal McDowell, United States
Marshal for Kansas, addressed a letter to the United
States Attorney-General, stating that he did not deem
it his duty to return fugitives to Missouri until she
became more loyal, and asking for advice on that
subject. The following was the reply:
"ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
July 23, 1861.
"Sir: Your letter of the 11th of July, received 19th
(under frank of Senator Lane, of Kansas), asks advice
whether or not you should give your official services
in the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.
"It is the President's constitutional duty to take
care that the laws be faithfully executed. That
means all the laws. He has no right to discriminate
between those he dislikes. And, of course, you,
as his subordinate, can have no wider latitude
of discretion than he has. Missouri is a State in the
Union. The insurrectionary disorders in Missouri
are but individual crimes, and do not change the
legal status of the State, nor change its rights and
obligations as a member of the Union.
"A refusal, by a ministerial officer, to execute any
law, which properly belongs to his office, is official
misconduct, of which I do not doubt the President
would take notice.
"Very respectfully,
EDWARD BATES."

Selections.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM
GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, August 31, 1861.
PRESIDENT LINCOLN—Sir: The much speaking and
writing of Abolitionists of the war should not be set
down to their conceit and folly. Were it a war about
maritime rights or tariffs, or diplomatic civilities,
or anything else on which they are not specially
informed, others would be at least as competent as
themselves to discuss it. But as it is a slavery-begot-
ten war, they have a peculiar claim to be heard upon
it who have given up their lives to the study of
slavery. The conceit and folly are not on the part of
the Abolitionists, but at such a time as this, offering
advice, but on the part of those who turn contemptu-
ously away from it. Prosperous and happy beyond
all other nations would ours now be had she con-
sented to profit by the foresight of the Garrison and
Goodells, Phillips and Cheevers. But she contemned
it: and the penalty of her contempt she is suffering
to-day amidst the horrors of civil war. Not more
obviously was the entire destruction of the Jewish
nation the consequence of her disregard to the warn-
ings of her prophets than the already far-advanced
destruction of our nation the consequence of refusing
to listen to our prophets.

I said that the war is slavery-begotten. I do not
mean that there are persons who look (wholly in
vain I think) for other causes of it. But even they
must admit that by the extension and perpetuation of
slavery was not its sole object, nevertheless nothing
short of the maddening power of the pro-slavery
spirit could have sufficed to lead a nation to begin
a war, which to all sane minds was so full of peril, if
not indeed of certain destruction, to her most cherished
interests. This much is certain—that whatever her
objects, the South would never have made the war
had not slavery first made her mad.
The war should by this time have been near or
quite to its end. Pardon me for saying that it is
owing to the errors of yourself and your advisers that
it is not. I say so not because I doubt your or their
patriotism—for I do not. I say so not because you
or they are not intent on bringing the war to the
speediest close—for I believe both are. I say so not
because I believe you or they would be guilty of such
folly. I am not of those who find pleasure in defam-
ing the Cabinet. If there was ever a Cabinet which
should be judged not only justly but generously, it is
the one to whose hands was committed a country
already betrayed to a country, moreover, large por-
tions of whose people were already in open war
against her, and large portions of the remainder in
craven and corrupt sympathy with them. It is true,
that I wish there were a couple of Democrats in the
Cabinet—such, for instance, as Dickinson and Holt.
But I say so not because of any fault in any of its
members, but solely because I would have enjoyed a
more undivided public confidence than it possibly can
whilst its members are all of the same political com-
plexion.

What are these errors to which I refer? They are
two. If there are others they are included in them
because growing out of them. One is that the
importance of the importance of Constitutional
action in time of war. The other—Overrating the
importance of conciliating loyal slaveholders.
The importance of adhering to the Constitution in
time of peace can hardly be overrated—in time of
war hardly be underrated. The popular reverence
for the Constitution is a noble sentiment, and a
necessary adherence to it in time of war. Indeed, at
such a time, this reverence is amongst our greatest
perils. The Constitution was made far more for
peace than for war. Or, in other words, it was made
to serve the nation rather than its enemies. I add,
that it is far better for us to have no constitutional
scruples at all than to have them at such a time and
to such an extent, as shall enable our enemies to take
advantage of them. Suspicious persons may dwell
upon the demands of your country, and say that the
Constitution is not a sacred thing, but a mere piece
of paper. They are right in reminding them that the
family rules require civility to strangers. But he is
a fool, if, after the strangers have drawn weapons, he
keeps on talking of "the family rules." So is it folly
to trammel the freedom of the national family in time
of war with the punctilious observance of rules, which
were made to be used by it chiefly in time of peace.

I complain not that whilst the rebellion has yet
not grown upon your view into the dimensions and
character of war you thought it your office to hold up
the Constitution before its violators. I complain not
of your doing so at that stage of our troubles, which
seemed to you but little, if any, more than a riot or
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ple, even the stout of their hearts, because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law; it rejected it.

Thus saith the Lord; execute judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, and do no violence to the stranger.

Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong, that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.

Break every yoke, unwind the heavy burden; let the oppressed go free. Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his neighbor (who is his neighbor and my brother? Christ setteth that—very man). Behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine. Ye shall not be able to stand.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8, 1861.

WHAT shall be done with the "contrabands"? What shall be the disposition of twenty-five hundred fugitive slaves now in the hands of the government in Virginia? There are eighteen hundred at Fortress Monroe, and six or seven hundred in the various camps about Wash-

ington. It will not be long before there will be a couple of thousand at Hatteras Inlet—and the question arises, in fact cannot be avoided—what will the government do with these runaway slaves? Winter is coming on, and they must soon be provided for. They have got along

in the outskirts of camps so far, but will need housing when winter comes. There can be but one course for the government to pursue, though it may hesitate before adopting it. It must declare these men, women and children free men, if afterwards the so-called

and children free, even if afterwards the so-called legal owners who could prove themselves always loyal should be recompensed. Then the able-bodied should be

put to work on fortifications, or in general camp work, while some kind of an arrangement should be made for the comfort of their families. Unless something positive is done by the government or private individuals, there will be much suffering among this class of people. In ordinary times freedom is all they would ask but in

times of war, when plantations and farms become a ruin, it may be impossible for them to live where they are. It is a dangerous subject. This subject I believe

nothing is left to live upon. This subject, I believe, has already received the consideration of the Cabinet, but nothing decisive has been arrived at.

There has been some discussion over the controverted point of the President's approval of Gen. Fremont's famous proclamation. Some assert positively that Mr. Lincoln not only fully approves of the act, but suggested it. Others who have access to the Presidential ear

Others who have access to the President can assert with equal confidence that the President does not approve of the proclamation, and has told Gov. Gamble so. Now the truth is this: The President does not

fully approve of the exact language of the proclamation in question, as he thinks it unauthorized by the recent act of Congress upon the subject, but under the circumstances he will not undertake to reverse the action of Gen. Fremont. He wishes every General left

as Fremont was, to be his judge of the necessity for establishing martial law, and an interference now would deter any Commander in the future from doing the very thing which might be necessary to save his army

Even if Mr. Lincoln had the disposition to find fault with Gen. Fremont, which he has not, he would not dare do so. He knows that, to say the least, five-sixths

of the men who elected him President approve the proclamation, and it is believed that two-thirds of the people of the loyal States do the same. The President is naturally anxious for Kentucky, and the effect of any course upon the action of its Legislature and people.

It is a well known fact that Mr. Lincoln did not sign the Confiscation Act of the extra session of Congress till five minutes after twelve of the last day of the ses-

sion, and he did it under a tremendous pressure. *He* was opposed to it, but gave up his own opinions for the sake of others. The reason why Mr. Lincoln indulges such opinions is evident enough. It is not because he doubts their intrinsic correctness, but because he knows that such a line of the North was imperative. When he

that the people of the north are not a unit. *We* are not to-day to declare his purpose to be to free the slaves of the South, nearly one-half of the people of the loyal states would utterly refuse to aid in carrying on such a war, and at least one-third of the army would lay down its arms. Then we should see the spectacle of a divided North and a united South. A premature movement of this kind might simply pave the way for the rule of Jeff. Davis over the whole land.

No; the best way is to let the army and the people *drift* into the true position. The army of the West is already in a pretty good position, and the army of the East is not far behind. The moment we come to argu-

ment the Democratic officers in our army fly back to their old pro-slavery position, but when they are put into the battle-field, it doesn't take long to make them over into pretty fierce anti-slavery men. Ben. Butler, for instance. He now believes, as a soldier, most fully in the wisdom of using the slavery question to put down the rebellion. I am told on excellent authority that he is in favor of the organization of a regiment of slaves at Fortress Monroe at once, and thus "putting them to good use."

The capture of Fort Hatteras seems to have put new life into the Navy Department, as it has filled the Southern coast-country with consternation. The government begins to see what it can do with the navy if it will, and

That is, fill the whole Southern country with alarm, and thus scatter the grand rebel army of the Potomac. An expedition of twenty thousand men, which should land on the coast of South Carolina, would fill that little State with alarm, and could seize upon Charleston even with a proclamation like that of Fremont's; the State would be subjugated, or the rebels would be obliged to fly from the banks of the Potomac. Gen. Bonham, who commands a brigade at Vienna, almost within sight of the Capitol, would fly to the rescue of his neighbors from Yankee invasion, and let the Capitol and Baltimore be for themselves. This view of matters has been urged very ably, upon the President and his cabinet, and is likely to be adopted for the *present* campaign. Gen. Wool, Col. Stringfellow, Gen. Butler, and many other prominent men believe it is the very best way to strike home to the heart of the enemy.

That the rebels are very sore over the bearing of the government towards slavery there can be no doubt. The other day two South Carolina slaves got within our lines from Vienna. They murmured that their slaves undertook to fly from Massachusetts. They say of two before, and were immediately shot after. Gen. O.

regiment over the river has already over twenty fugitives who have escaped from the rebel camps within two or three weeks. They invariably report that the slaves have a good idea of the war, and that the Federal government is on the side of their freedom.

But the most of the slaves further believe that their masters are the strongest, and will eventually drive "the Abolitionists" out of the country. This idea is constantly hammered into them, and the most of them

believe it. So long as the rebel army is successful, offers of freedom to the slave will do no good, but a great Federal victory will turn the tables at once. *Then* the rebellion will be in great peril.

All the week it has seemed as if a battle were certain to come off within six or eight miles of the President's House, but each succeeding day has rendered such an occurrence less and less probable. At the time of this writing the prospect for an immediate conflict is not decided. The rebels move slowly, hesitatingly, as if they did not exactly know what it is best for them to do. Perhaps they are wavering between two plans. Perhaps, with a firm resolve to throw themselves ^{away}

It is very natural that great anxiety should be felt for the result of the next battle upon the banks of the Potomac. If for twenty millions of people cannot or will not protect the Capital, they will be subjected to a worse disgrace than its loss. If the rebels can capture Washington, they can take Philadelphia and New York—and they will do so. Let the free North ignobly fail to defend the Capital, and the leaders of the rebellion will turn Union men at once on the basis of universal slavery. Elated by such a victory, they would insist upon guarantees of slavery such as would satisfy the vilest slave-catcher in the land, and would then propose to give all the States the benefit of their Presidential election this fall. Shrewd men who have spent their lives at the South declare it to be their belief that if in the next great battle the North is beaten, *Gen. Davis* will make good.

